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A study was conducted to determine the reasons for variable success in relocating Eskimo families from rural areas of the northern territories of Canada to southern centers of industrial employment (railways, mining centers). The data were collected by interviewing 105 Eskimos, both male and female, married and single, who had migrated south. The findings revealed that Eskimo men were considered valuable workers by their employers, but because both men and women lacked comprehension of informal rules governing behavior in southern communities, they had difficulty in adjusting to community life styles. This sometimes resulted in excessive drinking by both sexes, deviations from "normative" behavior, and a desire to return to northern home settlements. Inadequate housing and kin obligations were found to be other reasons for returning home. Some of the suggestions made to help the Eskimo assimilate were: (1) provide instruction in proper behavior in realistic terms; (2) provide adequate housing; (3) implement a seasonal employment scheme in view of long-term benefits; and (4) to permit self-sufficient Eskimos to phase from their special status as ward of the government to the regular status of a Candian worker. (RH)

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PROBLEMS OF ESKIMO RELOCATION FOR INDUSTRIAL EMPLOYMENT

A preliminary Study

by

D.S. Stevenson

This report is based on research carried out while the author was employed by the Northern Co-ordination and Research Centre, now the Northern Science Research Group, of the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development. It is reproduced here as a contribution to our knowledge of the North. The opinions expressed, however, are those of the author and not necessarily those of the Department.

Requests for copies of this report should be addressed to Mr. A.J. Kerr, Chief, Northern Science Research Group, Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, Ottawa.

Northern Science Research Group,
Department of Indian Affairs and
Northern Development,
Ottawa, May, 1968

ABSTRACT

Under the auspices of the Northern Science Research Group, Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, research was conducted during 1967 into the possible reasons for variable success in relocating Eskimo families to centres of industrial employment. A number of interim conclusions have been drawn. Where the migrants lack comprehension of the informal rules governing behaviour that is acceptable in southern communities, and where attempts are made by the migrants to retain former life patterns, assimilation and/or acceptance into the community is seriously retarded. Further, although technical training and grade-school education are necessary for migration, by themselves they are not sufficient for successful adjustment to community life-styles. The problem lies partly in community awareness of the migrant, and partly in the more insistent demands by the community for conformity of the migrant to 'normative' behaviour. In short, because the migrant is unaware of the informal rules governing acceptable behaviour in southern communities, and because his only recourse is to assume that the actual behaviour he observes is acceptable, he models his own behaviour accordingly and, in consequence, is rejected by the community.

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David Stevenson
Halifax
February, 1968

LOCATION MAP - CENTRAL CANADA

FOREWORD

This report is the result of a request from the educational administrators responsible for vocational training in the Northwest Territories. The range of their responsibilities includes the placement of trained workers in wage-earning positions. The number of available openings for such workers in northern settlements is limited today, and this has led to the relocation of some Eskimo workers to industrial centers. Aware of a range of sociological problems connected with the adaptation of workers to this new environment, the Centre was requested to bring to bear on this problem the analytical skills of a social scientist, and accordingly, Professor Stevenson was engaged to undertake this research. The report which follows covers the first season's work. A further report is planned.

A. J. Kerr,
Chief,
Northern Science
Research Group.

Chapter 1

THE PROBLEM AND THE METHOD

With the introduction of large-scale construction projects and a resurgence of mining activities in the mid-1950's, social and economic changes in the Canadian Arctic regions have been steadily accelerating. As a result of these developments and the probable irreversibly depressed conditions in the fur-markets and game populations, hunting, trapping, and combined hunting-trapping as subsistence activities have become barely feasible for the indigenous populations of those areas. Government support in the form of family allowances, welfare, housing loans, loans for co-ops, and other funds, has proven doubtfully adequate to meet the needs of the people. Recognizing this, the Canadian Government introduced a fairly comprehensive system of grade-school education (primary and secondary), and a broad vocational training program designed to provide a greater range of occupational choice, and to permit the possibility of geographical mobility of that segment of the labour force interested in migrating. In more recent years, the reduced operations of such employment sources as the DEW Line and other federal projects as well as the closure of certain private mining operations in the Northwest Territories, has prompted the government to promote and encourage alternative employment possibilities in the Territories and the northern parts of the provinces.

Beginning in the summer of 1963, the government, in co-operation with interested business firms, initiated small-scale migration of a few Eskimo families from some northern settlements to selected southern communities. The selection of the southern communities was determined solely by the availability of employment, while selection of families was based largely, but not only, on the basis of the past training and work experience of the husband in each family.

During the intervening years, it became apparent to those federal government agencies within the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development who are involved with the problems of education and training, that there was a disturbingly wide variation in the adjustment and successful assimilation of the Eskimo families in different localities. The usual syndromes of maladjustment were reported: excessive use of alcohol, job absenteeism, general apathy, persistent anti-social behaviour and frequent arrests for law infractions (generally misdemeanors rather than criminal offenses), and the return of groups of disgruntled Eskimo families to their home settlements.

Early in 1966 I was asked by the Northern Co-Ordination and Research Centre, at the request of the Education Division of the Northern Administration Branch, Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, to conduct research into the possible reasons for the variable success in the relocation program.

A research schedule was drawn up early in 1967 and approved by the government agencies concerned. This schedule called for a search of the literature on problems of cross-cultural migration with particular emphasis on moves from economies other than wage-based to wage-labour situations. This preliminary search was completed in May 1967 and a partial bibliography deposited in the office of the Research Centre in Ottawa. At the completion of this phase, the hypotheses derived from the literature and my own past research were drawn together into a program for the structuring of the field-work to be carried out during a ten week period between May and July, 1967. The final phase scheduled for the 1967 season was the submission of an interim report and an outline for more detailed and complete field-work during the 1968 season. This report represents the final phase of the 1967 research.

Three communities were chosen for field observation. These were selected on the bases of:

1. duration of Eskimo employment and residence and numbers of families available for interviewing;
2. degree of satisfaction claimed by employers specifically and the communities generally;
3. degree of apparent success of the adjustment of the Eskimo families to the new environments.

I should add here that the inclusion of data taken from unmarried Eskimos was considered as probably useful in the hope that problems faced by families might be clarified by comparison. Suffice it to say here that the problems of the four categories of migrants, married, single, male, and female, differ both in type and in significance for the assumption of permanent residence in southern communities.

In terms of numbers, a total of 105 Eskimos were interviewed; 27 married males, 19 married females, 8 single females, 37 single males, and 14 married males who for one reason or another, were in the south without their wives and children. All interviews were conducted in the Eskimo language without the use of interpreters. There were a number of reasons for this besides the desire for accuracy. Most importantly, the interviewees in the past appeared more relaxed and were certainly more voluble when using their mother tongue. This was true even for those adults who were fluent in English and also for children attending English-language schools. Wherever possible, local government officials were to be interviewed and available files scrutinized. Similarly, mine managers, railway superintendents, foremen, white fellow-workers, neighbours, and shop-keepers were also to be interviewed.

Two broad areas were assumed to be highly significant in leading to variably successful adjustment and assimilation. The first of these is 'comprehension' on the part of the potential migrants and the second, deriving partly from the first, is a 'willingness to migrate'. This latter derives from a genuine awareness of the lack of economic opportunities in the home settlement. In using the term 'comprehension', I am subsuming a number of factors related to the possession of valid information with respect to living and working conditions to be met in the new environment. Some of these factors are: comprehension of English, and comprehension of informal rules concerning acceptable social behaviour, e.g. drinking habits, appropriate dress, adherence to sanitation and health regulations, responsibilities for children, responsibilities for payment of debts incurred, reciprocal obligations between employer and employee. A more lengthy list of factors could be complied, but I am at the moment, convinced that the above includes the more significant ones for southern community living.

The factors to be listed under 'willingness to migrate' in addition to general comprehension, are also linked to ideas about voluntary and non-voluntary migration.

Other problems considered as probably relevant to successful relocation are:

1. problems of isolation; where an acute sense of geographical isolation and separation from kin is generated there will tend to be a feeling of impermanence on the part of the migrant. This will be even more aggravated if the sense of isolation is coupled with a distorted view of actual geographical location vis-a-vis the home settlement.
2. problems of time and energy allocation; if the migrant is either unwilling, or unaware of, the mode of allocation of time and labour in accordance with the demands for efficient households, as they are conceived of in a predominantly wage-earning economy, then the likelihood of fitting into other patterned activities will be diminished.

Stated in a general way, an obvious barrier to the adjustment of migrant Eskimos in southern communities would be attempts by them to retain the daily pattern of activities to which they were accustomed in the northern settlements. Still another area of concern centre about different ideas of 'work' in terms of separability from household activities and in terms of worthwhileness. To Eskimo males first entering the wage-earning situation, the distinction between place of work and home is strange and uncomfortable. For the trapper-hunter, the tent or house is simultaneously a place of work and a home. Similarly, the immediate geographical area is home, and the place of work. Again, the sharp distinction between work and play found in industrial societies is much more blurred in trapping-hunting societies such as the Eskimo.

The final points I wish to make here concern some assumptions about the congruence of values requisite for successful cross-cultural migration. Although there is evidence to show that some values found in Eskimo societies coincide with some values found in the industrialized sector of Canadian society, e.g. a drive for the acquisition of wealth, it is erroneous to assume that the ultimate goals are exactly the same for

both groups. The acquisition of wealth among many Eskimos is simply one step toward the attainment of individual prestige through a display of generosity and the redistribution of the acquired wealth. But such philanthropy is considered impractical for all but a very few members of industrial societies.

Although it seems that technical training peculiar to one culture can be taught to members of another culture, the transference of the trained individuals is substantially another problem and one that concerns us here. It is naive to assume that an Eskimo trained in, for example, diesel mechanics, is, *ipso facto*, fully equipped and prepared for life in a non-Eskimo community.

This next section includes only empirical, or observed data, collected during the field-work period in each of the areas visited. The attempt is to provide material of such a nature that, given the assumption of objectivity on the part of the observer (myself), it can be reviewed by other interested workers and perhaps used by them for further studies.

The usual warnings are, of course, in effect. Data collected by a single observer is to be approached with caution; bias, subjectivity, proclivity, can only be *assumed* to be absent and then only in the lack of evidence to the contrary. Although I am convinced of the accuracy of my own observations and interpretations in this study, I think that readers have the right to be made aware of the possibility of achieving less than 100% accuracy in studies dealing with human behaviour.

In attempting to approach the ideal of 100% accuracy, all interviews with Eskimos made during the summer, were conducted in the Eskimo language, or, occasionally, in both English and Eskimo. Besides holding the idea that better information could be obtained, it has become quite clear to me that the use of Eskimo was preferred by the respondents who are more at ease and more voluble during interviews. For example, having met three Eskimo men at the hotel in Lynn Lake and after establishing that I could speak Eskimo, I was invited to accompany them to the home of one. Arriving there, we entered and were met by the wife of the owner, his mother and five children. As soon as the wife and mother saw me, they herded the children into a back room and stationed themselves at the door. The wife, in obvious apprehension, remarked in Eskimo to the other woman, "Who is the white man?" Overhearing this, I replied to the women that, "I am a former Pond Inlet person. I have come to visit". The transformation from apprehension and tentative hostility to relief was immediate; the children were brought back into the room, all hands were shaken, and that was the beginning of a five hour visit during which everyone, women included, had a great deal to say about their relocated situation.

The relief mentioned above in the case of the two women was a very common reaction to finding out that I could speak in Eskimo. The foregoing remarks held for Eskimos of both sexes and of all levels of competency in the English language. Only one man consistently used English in conversation with me and then only when we were alone. This man, in terms of the scale of the research, was the most completely integrated individual met with during the summer. A few others changed from English to Eskimo at intermittent points in a conversation. Two possibilities might account for this: my lack of familiarity with the particular local dialect (although this is not borne out in other similar cases), or a desire on the part of the respondent to demonstrate his skill with English. In any event, the evidence is overwhelmingly in favour of conducting interviews in the respondents' language wherever possible.

An effort is made to present the descriptive materials for each relocation setting in a systematic manner as follows:

1. General background information about the setting –
   a) relationship of the industry to the setting
   b) historical factors
   c) projected impact of the industry on the setting.
2. Nature of employment available –
   a) ethnic composition of the labour force
   b) distribution of available positions.

3. Sources of Eskimo employees –
   a) recruitment: procedures and problems
   b) training: previous and on-the-job
   c) formal schooling: meaning for both work and social aspects
   d) informal schooling: meaning for both work and social aspects
4. Termination of employment –
   a) by employees
   b) by employer
5. Employer-employee expectations –
   a) comprehension
   b) incongruences.
6. The non-work situation –
7. Summary of empirical material and interpretations for each particular relocation setting.

N.B. Since 1 include much empirical material that is present in all areas, the Great Slave Lake Railway section will naturally appear much fuller than succeeding sections.

Chapter 2

THE GREAT SLAVE LAKE RAILWAY

The Great Slave Lake Railway (hereafter the GSLR) was started in 1961 and completed in 1966. All phases of construction were under the direct supervision of the Canadian National Railways system. During the summer of 1967, the Department of Transport examined and was assessing the GSLR as a preliminary step to declaring the operation an 'operating railway' in the near future. As an operating railway, employees will be required to meet the operating standards of the Canadian National Railway and the Department of Transport. This means that various examinations will have to be written to acquire the necessary licences and permits. For example, to occupy a despatcher's position, the person will be required to sit and pass a radio operators' examination; operators of rolling stock will be required to know the 'rule' book concerning signals, safety regulations, emergency procedures and so forth. Any of these qualifications depend upon the prospective employee's having a more than adequate knowledge of the English language as well as an understanding of the use of these rules in the work situation.

The railway extends from Pine Point, N.W.T., southward about 350 miles to Roma Junction, Alberta, where it links with the Northern Alberta railway system. Although the GSLR was, and is, geared primarily toward the transportation of ore and ore concentrate from the Pine Point mining operation, there is considerable traffic in general freight and in hauling equipment for oil companies engaged in intensive exploration in the Rainbow Lakes and adjacent areas. Besides these sources of business, there have been a number of proposals concerning the erection of pulp and saw-mills at various points along the line. Since the majority of the business enterprises proposed are of a long term type (pulp for example, is a replenishable resource), there is good reason to be optimistic about the future stability of the GSLR. Other developments that vindicate this optimism are to be found in the (at present) gradual shift of former northern shipping routes from the Waterways-Fort Smith staging area to the Hay River staging area.

In summary, the importance of this railway for improved access into the Western Arctic and for the future exploitation of available resources and the large-scale employment of indigenous labour, both permanent and seasonal, should not be under-estimated.

An account of the work situation that concerned itself solely with the Eskimo segment of the labour force would serve only to perpetuate the incomplete and somewhat distorted picture held by a good many persons interested in the relocation of these people. Consequently, I propose to present a broad view of the work situation and to focus on the Eskimo labour force within this more general context. To accomplish this it is essential that the deployment of the various ethnic groups into the available positions be described.

Within the total labour force employed by the railway, the numerically largest groups are Portuguese and Eskimo, followed by white English-speaking Canadians, and Indians from a number of tribes. The relative numbers of Eskimo and Portuguese vary seasonally, with Eskimos more numerous in summer and Portuguese more numerous in winter.

Generally speaking, there are four levels of employment that an individual can aspire to in the railway: administrative, e.g. managerial and general supervisory; specific supervisory, e.g. foreman of line gangs, yards, or shops; skilled or technical positions, e.g. diesel mechanic, welder, locomotive operator, despatcher, brakeman, etc.; and lastly, unskilled labour positions.

As of summer 1967, managerial and general supervisory positions were filled by white English-speaking Canadians. Specific supervisory positions were filled by white English-speaking Canadians, Portuguese and Eskimos, in that order. Skilled positions were filled by Eskimos and white English-speaking Canadians. Unskilled positions were filled by Portuguese, Eskimos and Indians, in that order (see above for seasonal variations).

The situation then, is one in which three languages are present: English, Portuguese and Eskimo. Because of the paucity of numbers of Indians and the fact that those employed are fluent in English, the various Indian languages spoken have been omitted from consideration. The GSLR management, in an effort to reduce the possibilities for confusion and accident, attempt to have the line gangs work in linguistically homogeneous groups. That is, there are gangs of Portuguese under the supervision of Portuguese foremen, Eskimo gangs under the supervision of English-speaking foremen but with some of the gang acting as interpreters for the non-English speaking Eskimos. Exceptions to this are found of course. For example, the bridge-building gang is composed of Portuguese, Eskimos and Indians under the supervision of an English speaking foreman. The predominant work-day language used by yard foremen and skilled Eskimos is English.

Tension between the groups was evident but not serious at the time of my stay, although the men relate a story (unconfirmed) of how some local Indians at Mile 120 organized themselves to attack the bunk-houses where the Eskimos were housed; the RCMP were called in and quickly cleared the matter up. No further incidents of this kind have been reported. The Eskimos in the bunk-houses charge that the Indians steal their cigarettes but little else; that they are slow workers and that they do not mix with anyone. (This latter charge is rather humourous considering that the Eskimos, in the main, keep to themselves as well). One possible source of tension between the groups might be related to what could be construed as preferential treatment given the Eskimos. I gathered that the Eskimos are given more chances to reinstate themselves after offences than are some others, although I cannot view this as pernicious. The various foremen are unanimous in their high assessment of the work done by Eskimo men.

Hours worked vary from job to job and from period to period. The line gangs could expect to work up to twelve hours per day, while the train operators might be on the job longer. Shop mechanics had possibly the most regular hours: eight hours per day. Most of the men are on hourly wage rates. These range from $1.65 for labourers to slightly over $2.00 for jobs like shop mechanic. Three individuals (Eskimo) were on salary.*

Since recruitment of Eskimos began in mid-1965, there has been a total, to date, of 136 men and 1 woman taken into employment by the GSLR. Of this number, eighteen have assumed permanent employee status, and a number who had achieved that status have re-applied after resigning. During the period I was at Roma Junction-Hay River, there were 79 Eskimos employed, some as noted, permanently, but the majority on a seasonal basis as labourers on line-gangs. During the summer (1967) three of the married men taken on as seasonal employees expressed a desire for permanent employment. The GSLR are willing to take these men into employment, but since the housing shortage is acute, the possibility of these men moving south with their families is remote. An additional comment is called for here. The GSLR management are impressed enough with the work record of these Eskimos to promise to do their best by way of housing for them, but since they are in the railway business, it is not particularly easy for them to assume the responsibility for the provision of married accommodation. Four unmarried men have also made it known that they would accept permanent employment, and their applications were being considered in the summer of 1967. The foregoing account has been restricted to those individuals who made direct approaches to the GSLR management about permanent employment. Besides these 7 men, another 10 had indicated to me that they would seriously consider taking up permanent residence if jobs were available.

Initially, recruitment of Eskimos for employment on the GSLR was carried out as a joint effort between representatives of the railway and local government administrators in a number of settlements in the Western Arctic. This arrangement proved unsatisfactory to the railway personnel who felt that the local government representatives were too often negatively selective. That is, they are thought to have recommended men for employment, not on the basis of their work qualifications, but on more personal grounds on the one hand, or because they wanted to rid their settlements of undesirables. As a result of this assumption (true or otherwise), the railway personnel now do their recruiting with only minimal

* This should possibly be four but my notes are not clear on this point.

consultation with local government authorities. This situation has had severe repercussions on at least one settlement that is now deliberately ignored by the GSLR as a possible source of manpower. The GSLR management made one trip to the Eastern Arctic and has visited most of the southern Baffin Island settlements, but to date no Eastern Arctic Eskimos have been recruited. The reasons for this contain no reflection on the assumed capacities of the Eastern Arctic people, but have to do with the difficulties of transporting people in an east-west direction in the Canadian Arctic. Travel between the two broad regions is difficult and circuitous.

During the recruiting trips, whenever possible, each prospective employee is interviewed and an assessment made as to his knowledge of the English language, general background (work experience, education, training, etc.) and the genuineness of his wish to take up employment on the railway. Records kept by local officials are largely ignored as being useless for the purpose of predicting the overall ability of the would-be employee.

During the time of this survey, there were 71 men (plus an undetermined number in July after I had left the area) brought south by the railway, at railway expense, to work as seasonal labourers in line-gangs. These men were recruited from Cambridge Bay, Holman Island, Inuvik, and Fort Franklin. The criteria for selection into the labouring force are two: good health and a desire to take up seasonal employment. Many of these men could speak no English although a fair number had command of some basics of that language. Although many were married men who had left their wives and children in the home settlement, the majority were unmarried.

Of the three factors: grade schooling, training, and work experience, the latter appeared to be most significant in determining the attitude of the men toward their present job and toward the possibility of taking permanent employment. The permanently employed group have all had previous experience in wage-earning situations in various places throughout the Arctic. On the other hand, persons having only training from a trades school type of institution were usually as ambiguous as untrained persons in the question of permanent moves. This is particularly true for the younger, unmarried and recently trained men. Men with grade school education only, seem to form two categories. Those with grade eight or higher indicate a greater awareness and anticipation of the benefits to be derived from wage-labour. They include men with vocational training as well as those without this added benefit. The second category includes those with less than grade eight (again including those with vocational training). This group displayed the greatest degree of dissatisfaction with both the work and social conditions. There is still one other type of man that deserves describing. This is the man, generally married, adult (22-30 years), who has learned English by himself and has achieved a reputation for some skill or skills in his home community. As a group these men present the most eagerly aware and ambitious attitudes of all groups encountered. Their acquisition of southern employment has been prompted not by either government or employers' inducements, but by a personal decision based upon information gleaned from a number of sources.

The agreement (informal and verbal) between the seasonal employees and the GSLR was that they were to stay on the job until late summer or early fall, and that if they carried out their part of the agreement, the GSLR would guarantee their return flight to the home settlements. On the other hand, if they quit or were fired for just cause, they would be expected to assume the burden of paying their own way home. In fact, those who quit or were fired were given travel vouchers as far as Yellowknife, thus easing the financial burden facing them. Up until June, only 16 men had asked to be released from their agreement: 14 labourers, 1 shop mechanic/locomotive operator, and 1 brakeman. The reasons given for resigning varied over a predictable range: the weather was too hot and was making them ill; the work was too tiring; his father had demanded that he return (the brakeman); his brother needed his help (the mechanic); lonely for wife and children; afraid of the Indians and Whites. In each of these cases the reasons seemed satisfactory and caused little concern to the GSLR management.

During the summer, two wives and their children were sent back to their home settlement by their husbands because of their total rejection of southern life restrictions and their obvious agony at having to live in the south. Both women spoke some English but absolutely refused to speak that language in

conversation. Both of them were, by the time I got there, steeped in alcohol and had completely withdrawn from all contacts outside their homes. The husbands and the children were neglected to a criminal degree, and no exhortation by either husbands or the GSLR management had any effect on their behaviour other than to drive them to alcoholic binges. Typical of the statements made to me by these women was, "nunakhanginama hamoni", literally "because I have no place in this land".

One unfortunate incident illustrates the kind of misunderstanding that can accidentally result in dissatisfaction. A group of about 9 Cambridge Bay men were brought out and set to work on a line-gang on a date that did not coincide with the wage computer. As a result, after working for three weeks they received in their first cheque, the sum of $69.00. Believing that this represented their earnings for the entire three weeks, they were up in arms. It was explained to them what the situation was, and although they apparently understood, seven insisted upon terminating their employment, and left, but without waiting for their final cheques. I imagine that they did not fully comprehend what was going on, and that even after they receive their pay in Cambridge Bay they will not see this as an ameliorating factor for what happened.

GSLR records show that only four Eskimos have been discharged on the initiative of the company. In each case drunkenness and persistent absenteeism constituted the reasons for dismissal. None of these men was contacted by me during the field-work period. It should be noted that although the GSLR policy toward the use of alcohol and persistent absenteeism is a replica of the stringent CNR policy, deviant Eskimos have been treated with somewhat more than leniency. I would conclude from this that the four men discharged must have been particularly incorrigible.

The expectations of many of the Eskimos coming south to the GSLR are distortingly coloured by information they receive from non-GSLR sources, that is, from returning Eskimos and from other sources at the settlement level. Very often the wages they expect are unreasonably higher than what they receive, and therefore a source of discontent. A number of men claimed to be able to earn more working on Dew-Line sites or for the federal government in their home areas. Closer questioning revealed that this was not the case and that the root of that particular problem lay in their ignorance of the cost of living in southern Canada, especially with regard to rents and foodstuffs. These remarks apply only to married men, since the unmarried men were fed and housed by the GSLR in bunk and dining cars provided for that purpose. In the case of drinkers, there seemed to be a denial of the costs of liquor. Gambling, a favourite pastime, also accounted for a large part of the shrunken income. Most importantly, with a few exceptions, such things as tax deductions, unemployment insurance, hospitalization payments and so forth were totally incomprehensible to the men, and were therefore another source of dissatisfaction. In short, the provision of housing, food and related requirements, was a bone of contention for those Eskimos most dissatisfied with the work situation. GSLR management, on the other hand, expected the usual things that an employer in industrial situations expects of employees: sobriety, particularly during working hours, punctuality and dependability. In all of these they were satisfied (with the few exceptions mentioned earlier) and had little hesitation in acknowledging the worthiness of their Eskimo employees, both absolutely and relative to other ethnic groups in employment.

GSLR management and supervisory personnel have taken a firm but understanding approach to the employed Eskimos. The rules and regulations alluded to above are made explicit to each man, and the employees are expected to meet these reasonable demands. Initial deviation from these rules is met with re-explanation and firm warnings that persistent aberrations can only result in dismissal.

One last word here about the seasonal employee picture (I will be mentioning this again in another context): during the period of seasonal employment, the Eskimos are carefully scrutinized, and any likely-looking man is approached with the offer to apply for permanent employment. Those individuals who show least, or lesser, promise are simply returned to their northern settlements after what can easily be a lucrative summer's employment.

In describing the non-work situation, I think that it is necessary to break this down into the categories of individuals unsystematically mentioned earlier: married, male and female; unmarried, male

and female. Since I have no data concerning unmarried females, this category is dispensed with easily. Unmarried males face a number of problems that are primarily social in nature, and therefore not a direct concern of the GSLR except insofar as they might interfere with the performance of duty.

Most important, girls are not available. For youths who are used to having as intense sexual intercourse as they can capture, this reversal has almost traumatic repercussions. The young Eskimo men look enough like Indians to receive the expectable rebuffs of the white girls but are different enough from the Indians to be equally rebuffed by them. One consequence of this rejection is withdrawal into their own group and an indulgence in mutual commiseration. Added to this, their discomfort is aggravated by the demands of kin in the home settlements who often have made marriage arrangements that are considered obligatory, even though the young people involved may have no particular desire to follow these arrangements through. One young man had married a white girl and immediately reduced the extent of his interaction with fellow Eskimos. Another young man had taken up with a Métis girl and fully intended marrying her against his parents' wishes, although her parents were apparently in favour of the union. Still another, a very sophisticated young man, had assumed the role of pimp for an Indian girl. In the main, the young men stated preferences for Eskimo girls, while bemoaning their lack and rejecting the idea that they would have to marry the choice of their parents. The breakdown in morality of some of the unmarried men reached a point at which the brother of one of the married women would arrange her sexual favours for a flat fee of $100.00 plus whatever she wanted to drink, a not inconsiderable expense.

Given the 'facts of life' in southern Canada, there is no basis for optimism about the possibilities of the younger Eskimos' acquiring wives while there. This leaves the alternative of quitting jobs and going back north for a 'holiday', and hopefully, finding a wife willing to move south, another rather dubious prospect for most of them.

A surprisingly few unmarried men drink for entertainment. The most popular activities are gambling and 'going into town'. While in town, sundry shopping is done and some time spent standing around looking at the traffic, pedestrian and vehicular.

None of the unmarried men (and only one of the married men) was actively participating in community activities such as sports. Perhaps part of the reason had to do with the distance of Roma Junction from Peace River, but interviewees were unanimous in saying that they were 'shy', or that they 'had no time', and in making similar excuses.

At this point in the description, it is essential that the roles of the wife be recognized. It is also important to recognize that there is a distinct and often excruciating difference between living in what we consider a regular house (or trailer) with running water, furnace, etc., and a small house or shack in an unserviced settlement.

The single men employed by the railway, as mentioned before, are housed in bunk-cars and eat in attached dining cars; these units are moved along the track as the job locations change, so that there are a number of gangs located along the line between Roma Junction and Pine Point. The married men at Roma are housed in trailers and one is in a house at Grimsby. There is one married man at High Level in a house, and six married men at Hay River, two in houses and four in trailers. The houses are off CN property and all trailers are on CN property.

The trailer accommodation provided by the GSLR at Roma Junction is located on CN property about ten miles from Peace River. The only possible transportation to Peace River is by private automobile or by taxi, at a cost of $4.00 each way. There is therefore, some geographical isolation. Since there are no other households in the immediate vicinity, the four married families see relatively little of anyone other than each other. Services are provided by the CN at nominal cost, and rents also are extremely reasonable for the kind of units made available.

Two of the families, who had past experience either on the Dew Line or in other southern areas, use their accommodation in a reasonable manner. The other two are totally unassimilated into the usual behaviour required for southern living. Facilities, e.g. washing machines, are only infrequently used, children are neglected by southern standards, and the places can only be described as filthy. In short, the women are still attempting to operate as if they were in a northern situation. Children are ignored presumably on the assumption that they will find their peer groups as they would in the north; regular meals are exceptional as are standards for dress. Only minimal attention is paid to sewing, mending or repairing clothing, again presumably because of the ease of eventual replacement; sleeping hours are at the discrimination of the child, as is school attendance. The women say that they are bored, even though their children are neglected and their homes are in a mess. There appears to be little or no value placed upon what is usually regarded as normal cleanliness or activities. For these two women who are least acceptable there is minimal voluntary contact with whites although, as pointed out, there is geographical isolation at Roma Junction, and neighbour Eskimo women are not accepted as models. One serious consequence of this situation is that the women have taken to excessive drinking.*

Frustrated, confused and downtrodden peoples everywhere have had recourse to alcohol, drugs, or religion. For the Eskimos in the south, the placebo is alcohol and alcoholic maudlin about the home selllement and the old way of life. It seems sometimes as if those least assimilated people deliberately use alcohol to blot out reality. I have been at drinking bouts where one woman, holding a naked baby on her lap, sat alternately sipping cheap rye whisky and vomiting into a cardboard box at her feet; she and some others were completely drunk, yet they kept drinking until absolutely unconscious. On the other hand, I cannot bring myself to think that they are alcoholic; they seem to suffer no withdrawal symptoms when cut off from liquor. In this respect they are very much like the Indians described by David Mandelbaum *(Current Anthropology,* Vol. 6, No. 3, June 1965, pp. 281-293), who were inherently tense and suspicious, not only of strangers but of each other.

Interaction with the non-drinking or moderate-drinking families was only intermittent, as was interaction with whites. The women seldom accompanied their husbands to the bars in Peace River, but did their drinking at home. This interaction produced no discernible improvement in the integration of the families in question. The cessation of church attendance seems to be a major clue in isolating the problem families. As mentioned earlier, only one of the married men had joined a social club. The others had not even considered doing this, saying that they were shy and could not speak English well enough. Movies, television, bingo and occasional baseball games seemed to be the only recreational activities. In short, there is an apparent tendency to reject those opportunities which do exist for participation in community activities.

The following is a summation of those factors that appeared to me to be most significant in determining, and quite possibly, limiting adjustment to employment with the GSLR (and with mining companies), and to the successful adoption of a way of life within the permissible range found in southern Canada.

Positive Factors

1. *Knowledge of English:* All permanent employees have a good knowledge of the English language. The men most anxious to take permanent employment also had a good command of English. The wives most content with their situation (this is not to imply contentment) could use English adequately in their shopping and social contacts.
2. *Previous experience:* Those men with previous wage-earning experience appeared the most comprehending. This needs qualifying to the extent that there was some ill-founded discontent with the wages earned relative to what was thought possible in the home settlements in wage-earnings jobs.
3. *Comprehension of northern economic opportunity:* Those men with a fairly accurate idea about job opportunities in the north compared with the south were, if their move had been self-motivated, the best

* These two women have since returned to Cambridge Bay, leaving their husbands to follow at a later date.

adjusted. This requires qualifying to the extent that the exceptions were men whose wives were not equally motivated.

4. *Absence of confusion as to work and social conditions met in the new situation:* With some minor exceptions the GSLR provided a relatively accurate briefing at the time of recruitment as to what the job entailed, what the housing situation was like (poor), and similar basic information.
5. *Ease of migration:*
   a) financial: the GSLR made provisions for absorbing the cost of moving south and, in many cases, for returning north.
   b) spatial: perhaps this should be locational; in any case, where the possibility for easy movement existed there seemed to be a more relaxed attitude toward separation from kinsmen and community of origin.
   c) co-migration of kin (e.g. brothers, cousins, nephews and uncles, and similar sets of kinsmen living in the same area) appears to foster better adjustment. Two qualifications are needed here. First, where return migration is relatively simple some individuals are unable to resist returning at the behest of kin in the home settlement. Second, informants were of the opinion that "too many men from the same place always cause trouble because they gang up on the others". As we shall see, this is in contradiction to statements made by Eskimos in both Yellowknife and Lynn Lake.
6. *Control:* The existence of a set of relatively inflexible rules governing work procedures that were explained to the Eskimos in simple straightforward ways, made adjustments to the work situation relatively much easier.
7. *Interest:* A demonstration of unofficial interest in the well-being of the Eskimo workers significantly lessened tension deriving form the strange surroundings.

Negative Factors

Other than the simple negative of the positive factors, there are a number of other significant facets.

1. *Housing:* The absence of suitable housing for the married men was a crucial factor in affecting decisions about permanent migration. For unmarried men this factor was less important, unless they contemplated moving south after getting married.
2. *Control:* The absence of clearly discernable or understandable rules governing social behaviour was a prime factor in breeding discontent on the part of all wives interviewed, and on the part of most men. In short, the informal rules of Eskimo social behaviour are sufficiently different from those of other Canadians to create problems of adjustment. Thus there are differences of viewpoint concerning the 'proper' way to drink, to keep house, and so forth.
3. *Kin obligations:* The part played by kin in determining some of the more important events in the life of an Eskimo (e.g. marriage), as well as the strong bonds of obligation to kin, tend to foster a feeling of impermanence in the individual working in the south.

Conclusion

The CN program can be considered successful insofar as it has enabled more than a dozen married men and their families to assume a viable way of life in that area. Further, some of these men are now in salaried positions and have committed themselves to a long-term career with the railroad. Again, there are six men who have aspirations to permanent employment with that company and who will likely achieve this status within a short time. Still further advances can be seen in the numbers of young single men who have elected to return to the seasonal operation with the intention of finally (at marriage) seeking permanent employment. The problem of adequate housing plagues this program (as it does the Yellowknife one), and without some changes in this sphere, integration will be severely slowed.

Although one can see a number of drawbacks to the seasonal employment scheme, in the main it will have long-term benefits. The yearly turnover can lead only to the dissemination of badly-needed information among the northern people. The possibility of earning a considerable sum of money during the summer can only benefit the northern economy. It may be true that people are separated from their

families for months at a time, but this has always been the lot of unskilled labour pools, for example, the Portuguese; and until such time as literacy in the north increases to the average Canadian high, the northern people will have little alternative other than welfare to augment their winter incomes in any other feasible way. I reject statements to the effect that 'people are being torn away from their families and dumped into strange situations that cause them mental anguish'. The fact of the matter is that these people will experience just as much mental anguish as any others whatever the particular setting, a matter of choice, and that if one setting is more materially beneficial and working against the formation of a 'welfare mentality', then I can only accept it as good. It is probably true that the families left behind are too often left in the hands of the welfare people; but the eradication of this custom should be one of the main goals of the local government through proper preparation and instruction to prospective seasonal workers.

One important factor here lies in the degree of control exerted over the employees by the CN. The single men are ensconced in bunkhouses so that absenteeism is virtually impossible and is punished by dismissal. Regular meals are served and regular rest is possible. This can be considered as training in itself that will benefit those ambitious younger men who aspire to living in the south at a later date.

The important single problem is the ubiquitous lack of adequate housing. The CN railway cannot be expected to enter into a large scale married-employee housing program. In view of the fact that men who were more than content with the south and their jobs have had to quit and take their families back to the home settlement, where employment is scarce and future bleak, it behooves the government to extend its federal and territorial housing schemes to include housing for these men. Although I am unfamiliar with the legalities involved, I suggest that perhaps an arrangement could be made with the CN to lease land for the installation of suitable trailer accommodation. This accommodation could be considered temporary for any individual who should eventually be encouraged to move into the neighbouring towns and permanent houses. Rents could be fair and the housing considered government property. The railway would, naturally, have to have a voice in the location of such trailers since only they know where they need to have the men available.

Chapter 3

YELLOWKNIFE

The Yellowknife gold-mining industry has been a steady source of employment in the Northwest Territories for more than two decades. With the opening of the MacKenzie Highway, there has been an increase in communication and ease of access into the northern Great Slave Lake area. This development is expected to increase the possibility of the exploitation of mineral resources that have hitherto been too remote and/or costly for commercial use. Other than mining, the two industries of major importance to Yellowknife are fishing and fish packing, and the service industries of the town itself. The centralization of Territorial Government offices in Yellowknife is expected to add to the possibilities for employment of the indigenous labour force. The available employment then is distributed over these segments of industry with the major single employer(s) being the gold mines. In the past the types of jobs held by Eskimos in Yellowknife were: miners (underground), carpenters, welders, truck-drivers, and aircraft mechanics.

The mining force is composed predominantly of white English speaking Canadians. Until the summer of 1967 there had been as many as 13 Eskimo men employed in the local mines. The number of Indians employed is unknown, but assumed to be small. Managerial and white collar positions are filled by white English speaking individuals; lower supervisory positions, such as that of foreman, are filled by native-born and Italian-born whites. No Eskimos hold such supervisory positions, although a few are associated with specialized groups, such as rescue teams.

The relocation of Eskimos and their families started in late summer 1963, when Con Mine agreed to hire three Eskimo men from the group that had been employed in the Rankin Inlet operation. These three men were selected by Con management in consultation with government officials from Rankin Inlet and Ottawa. At the time of the initial recruitment, there were a reported 31 men, married and single, with mining experience who expressed a willingness to move from Rankin Inlet to Yellowknife. Eskimo informants claim to have been asked to select from among themselves those men who they felt would be the most suitable as a vanguard and a source of information for the others. Informants assured me that the arrangements made among themselves and with the government, were to the effect that if the move proved satisfactory to both Eskimos and to the mining company, then 'many' other families would follow the initial three to Yellowknife. Correspondence between the mining companies and government officials indicates quite clearly that the arrangement between them was to hire three with the possibility of another three should the first group prove satisfactory, at the end of a six-month probationary period. The performance of the three Eskimo men as workers was such that the probationary period was reduced to three months and arrangements were made to bring their wives and children from Rankin Inlet together with the three more men and families that had been agreed upon.

Over the next few years, the number of Eskimos and their families in Yellowknife increased to a maximum of eight; this Eskimo population was further increased by the arrival of an undertermined number of approximately nine unmarried men. However, the 'many' families that the Eskimos thought would be moving to Yellowknife did not materialize, and this failure was given by the remaining Eskimos (summer 1967) as one of the reasons for their desire to return to Rankin Inlet. At the time of my arrival in Yellowknife there were only five married Eskimo men employed there. Of these, four were miners and all four had completed arrangements for leaving some time in July. The fifth married man had returned from a training course in the south and was planning to stay in Yellowknife as a welder.

Recruitment of suitable men for work in the mines presents a number of problems. First there are relatively few Eskimos with the necessary experience, and those that have the training are very often deficient in English. Besides this, there is a strong resistence, among the Eskimos, to the idea of moving into such a 'remote' community. The main problem here lies in the circuitous routes that have to be followed

to get from the Eastern Arctic to the Yellowknife area. Since the mining companies specify quite clearly that they refuse to assume responsibility for paying air fares for prospective employees (as well as for providing suitable housing), the burden of financing the move from, say Rankin Inlet to Yellowknife, can only rarely be carried by the Eskimo seeking employment there. This burden is, of course, increased several times if a wife and children are involved. If the Eskimos I spoke with insist upon repeating the tales of woe that were given to me, it is possible that there will be very few Eskimos willing to move to Yellowknife under any conditions. On the other hand, the local Manpower representatives assure me that they could place up to 100 Eskimos in various positions in the town, particularly with the mines, because of the excellent work record achieved by the men. In contrast to this attitude, is the attitude of landlords and business people, who, because of nearly traumatic experiences with Eskimo tenants and customers, are adamant in their low opinion of them as suitable citizens.

At the time of my stay there, the mines had no apprenticeship program for training Eskimo (or other) miners, although the idea had been brought up and discussed with Federal Government, mine, and union officials, as early as September 1963. Despite the paucity of experienced Eskimo miners, there are a number of avenues that can be used by younger men to take up this particular type of employment. The basic requirements are:

1. a good knowledge of the English language
2. willingness to take any job in the mine and wait for an opportunity to move to the more lucrative jobs.

There are, as usual, additional and important requirements, the most obvious one being a sound knowledge of life-style in non-Eskimo communities. Although this latter body of knowledge is important, it seems that the boarding-school system, both academic and vocational, has not been able to transmit this to students. As one consequence, too many ex-boarding school students I spoke with had only the vaguest idea of what constituted an acceptable daily round of activities in the domestic sphere.

Mining is carried out on a shift-work pattern with the men being paid on a production plus basis (a bonus system for high production). Since this is the case, a general rule is that men who miss three shifts consecutively are fired. The history of Eskimo dismissal is very encouraging. The high reputation mentioned earlier meant that a man could be fired by Con and taken on at Giant mine immediately, and vice versa. So far as I could gather, all dismissals in the past were the result of missing shifts as a result of drinking. The reasons for drinking are the same as those mentioned in the GSLR situation. In the main, and I reiterate, in terms of work capacity the Eskimos at Yellowknife were (and are) considered first class and highly employable, given the basic requirements outlined above.

Employer expectations were met without fail, at least until the period immediately prior to the departure of the last few families. Work attendance, interest in the job, and productivity, were all high, and adherence to the company regulations was consistent. The few cases of deviance had no appreciable effect on the satisfaction of the employers.

The reasons for quitting are much more complex. Some of these have been alluded to in previous pages: a decline in confidence in the government with regard to how many families were to be relocated, the near impossibility of acquiring suitable accommodation, absence of a viable social life as well as the more elusive reasons such as the lack of opportunities to hunt and fish, too many spiders, the unaccustomed heat of the summer, and the ubiquitous demands of kinsmen in the home settlements.

The answers to the failure of the Yellowknife relocation project are to be found in the non-work situation, and differ little from the situation found for the GSLR except in terms of intensity. The greater intensity of problems in Yellowknife seems to arise from community co-residence. Co-residence in any community in any society can only be successful if there exists a commonly held set of values about appropriate behaviour of the members. Anarchy, or even widely divergent modes of group behaviour, can only result in segmentation of the community into factions. Further, the absence of cohesion among some of these segments does not mean that the will of some better organized groups can be imposed on others. Withdrawal from, or rejection of, interaction except at the most basic level necessary for existence, is another feasible and common alternative for some groups.

In Yellowknife, a number of misconceptions served to aggravate the relationship between the Eskimo families and the non-Eskimo members of that community. As one Eskimo man put it, "Why do the white men have two faces? One for themselves and one for the Eskimos and Indians? " Apparently he had been approached by his foreman in the local tavern and 'advised' not to sit around drinking beer. He says he was afraid and went home, but after thinking about it, went back to the tavern where he discovered the foreman unconscious in the toilet. In these circumstances, the Eskimo's question is reasonable: "Why is it permissible for Whites to get drunk but not for Indians and/or Eskimos? "

It is clear that we are faced with the existence of two somewhat incongruent stereotypes: that held by Whites about Eskimos and that held by Eskimos about Whites. Stereotypes derive from variably accurate interpretations of past events and experiences and are, perhaps, legitimate modus operandi for strange situations, particularly cross-cultural ones. The problem lies in the degree to which individuals are not prepared to accept departures from whatever they believe the type to be. In Yellowknife, the Eskimos were a highly 'visible' group so that their behaviour was more closely watched than that of fellow Whites. This meant, obviously, that departure from the conceptions held by Whites about 'normative' or ideal behaviour was readily apparent. On the other hand, the Eskimos do not comprehend many of the informal rules that form the basis of the ideal, and attempts to model their behaviour after the 'actual' behaviour of the Whites resulted in rejection by the Whites and increased apprehension and confusion for the Eskimos.

The factors influencing adjustment of the Eskimo people employed in Yellowknife are similar to those listed for the GSLR situation, with the addition of factors that relate to co-residence and a greater degree of 'visibility' and opportunity for social interaction between the ethnic groups. The absence of formally stated rules governing social behaviour was again seen as of crucial importance for maladjustment, especially of the women. A lack of information and the rejection of relatively more tightly scheduled activities, e.g. meal and bed-times, also contributed largely to the collapse of this particular program. I had more time in Yellowknife to observe the children of migrants, and as in the case of the men with definite rules of work, the children, having the benefit of formally stated rules, appeared to be better adjusted than were the women. Outside of school, the children faced some of the same kinds of problems as those faced by the adults. The parents, following the pattern of the home settlement, paid little attention to the children, leaving them to seek out their peer groups. The children, since they too lacked sufficient information, apparently were unable to recognize either the structure or function of southern children peer groups, and consequently had very little interaction with the local white children.

Chapter 4

LYNN LAKE

The town of Lynn Lake, Manitoba, functions as a 'service centre' for the Sherritt Gordon mine. Apart from the mine and the town 'service' industries, the closest alternative employment is at Thompson where mineral finds have resulted in a large, thriving mining community.

In the immediate vicinity of Lynn Lake there is about 100 miles of road suitable for automobile travel and allowing access into lakes and similar recreation facilities. Communication between Lynn Lake and other parts of Manitoba is possible via air and rail transportation.

Although predictions about the permanency of the mining operations are speculative at best, there appears to be justified optimism concerning future mining in the northern Manitoba area generally, and this optimism is exemplified by the rapid growth of Thompson. In other words, this area and this industry will probably be a source of jobs for Eskimos willing to take up that particular type of employment.

The existing labour force in Lynn Lake is extremely heterogeneous with respect to place of origin, and apart from Eskimos, lacks discrete minority ethnic groups. The dominant language is English. Managerial and supervisory positions are filled by English-speaking individuals. There are two categories of positions filled by Eskimos: as miners underground and as industrial mechanic apprentices on the surface operation. As of the summer of 1967, there were eight married Eskimo men employed in Lynn Lake. One of these men was found to be, or had been, tubercular, and since there was no surface employment available at the mine, he had taken a number of temporary jobs in the town. Of the four single men, one worked underground and the other three were apprentices. At least four of the married men who had left Yellowknife were planning to move to Lynn Lake where employment had been guaranteed.

At Eskimos at Lynn Lake originated from the Baker Lake-Rankin Inlet-Eskimo Point-Chesterfield Inlet region, excepting the apprentices, and all had had some mining experience. One man had been working at Yellowknife and had moved from there to Lynn Lake late in 1966.

As was the case in the other areas visited, the essential need for a good command of the English language was evident at Lynn Lake. This was made especially clear to me by the mine manager during a discussion of safety regulations in the mine. His suggestion, and one that I endorse, is that there be a booklet published in English-Eskimo and Eskimo-English concerning safety procedures, etc., in the work situations. The more general remarks made during the description of the other areas apply here also but with some additions.

Housing is a problem in Lynn Lake just as it is in the other places. The mine company have been providing the Eskimos with as much assistance as possible, but naturally feel that some of this responsibility should be shouldered by the government agencies concerned. Some of the reasons given to me by Eskimos considering leaving their jobs, related directly to the high cost of houses in Lynn Lake and the lack of rentable accommodation. It was suggested, that in the case of the single men, either the government or the company might buy one of the larger houses and install an Eskimo couple, or a couple with one child, as caretakers, and rent the rooms to those of the young men who were finding life in the bunkhouses unbearable. In any event, all Eskimos moving, or desiring to move, to Lynn Lake should be absolutely clear as to the housing conditions.

Other reasons for considering terminating employment resulted mainly from pressures applied by kin for the return of the men to the home settlement. Some dissatisfaction with salaries was expressed. However, as I hope to point out, nearly all of these reasons could be viewed as 'defensive', and the underlying reasons were more logically rooted in problems of self-incorporation into the community.

Despite the fact that some of these men had been in the community for as long as three years, their non-Eskimo contacts were still primarily work-contacts that did not include the wife and children.

No Eskimo has been dismissed from the mine for violation of regulations. The man with the tubercular condition was let go for health reasons and was, during my stay at Lynn Lake, in the process of obtaining employment with the GSLR. This, I think, can be taken as an indication of his wish to remain in wage-employment rather than to return to his home settlement. Perpetually missing shifts is considered a serious offense, and the Eskimo miners have gained a very high reputation for reliability by seldom committing this act. Although alcohol is used extensively by most of the men and a few of the women, the Lynn Lake group appear to be very much in control of their consumption, and excessive imbibing is relatively rare.

It should be made clear that, from the point of view of the mine operators, the important goal sought is less that there should be a steady long-term employment expectation than that there should be a class of workers, miners, well trained but mobile, who can be relied upon for the region rather than for any single mine. This being the case, the mine managers have little or no objection to men moving between mines in the area. Such a slow turnover of personnel is not viewed as detrimental to mining operations.

In the non-work situation, some of the problems mentioned for the other areas are found also at Lynn Lake, but seemingly to a lesser degree. The women are faced with the same absence of acceptable models from outside the Eskimo group, but have been fortunate enough to have a moderating kin-based network of responsible elder women. Important also is the fact that the women at the upper end of the adjustment scale (ranges from very low to moderate) have been encouraged informally to exercise their 'womanly' talents in the production of duffle parkas, and other articles of clothing. In this way they partially escape the terrible boredom with household chores that was rampant in Yellowknife and Roma Junction-Hay River areas.

The school-age children still tend to avoid intimate contact with their white school mates and to form their own small family-based peer groups in preference to the more general peer groups that form at school. The exceptions to this are the Eskimo teenagers who, in each case, have made the greatest strides toward assimilation into the community.

A number of factors appear in the Lynn Lake situation that are important for understanding the relatively greater success of this relocation over the others. First, if we are to understand adjustment as the individual development of the ability to handle day-to-day problems of community living, then Lynn Lake ranks as low as Yellowknife, because Lynn Lake is no more tolerant of Eskimo departure from its established rules of behavior than is Yellowknife. In Lynn Lake there is a greater degree of formalization of the non-work situation. This is not, of course, as great as that in the work situation, but is nevertheless greater than that found in either Yellowknife or Roma Junction. Second, the Eskimo women at Lynn Lake had injected an interest into their daily routine by performing tasks that made more sense to them than washing the kitchen floor. In this way, they seemed to be better able to handle the more boring aspects of household activities. Third, communication and travel between Lynn Lake and the home area was recongnized as easily obtainable. At the same time the absence of alternative employment in the north, reduced the effective 'pull' towards returning. Fourth, the move to Lynn Lake was not the first such move made by the majority of this group of Eskimos, and the major differences between this and previous moves related to changes in the non-work situation.

Chapter 5

A BRIEF NOTE ON THE URBAN SITUATION

I would like to include here a brief summary of my observations of the urban situation as I saw it in Edmonton and Winnipeg. The Eskimos in those places were single males and females and were interviewed under a number of different conditions.

Of the eight unmarried people, only one expressed the feeling that he was contented with his state. The complaints of the others ranged from being lonely, afraid, etc., to convictions that they had been forced into taking training, sometimes training that they had no desire to be involved with. The most important single complaint revolved about the restrictions placed upon their movements.

The case of one of the girls illustrates this very well. She was placed in a boarding house and was expected to adhere to a 9:00 p.m. curfew during the week and to have one late night out of seven. Visitors were discouraged by the landlady as was playing the record player, the television, or the radio after 10:00 p.m. This girl was a mature, intelligent, and attractive woman of twenty years who had been educated in boarding school and had developed quite sophisticated ideas about things in general. At the time of our meeting, she was constantly seething with resentment about the situation she was in, and was determined to end it as soon as possible. Statements she made and threats that she uttered led me to believe that it would not be impossible for her to begin to leave the boarding house at night and frequent bars and cocktail lounges looking for companionship. It is fairly safe to assume that the quality of the company she might find in those places late at night would be low. If such an entertainment cycle was started, there is little doubt that her chances for success in the city would be decreased or would vanish.

I talked about this problem with local government people in Winnipeg and concluded that there was an inordinate degree of restriction and pressure placed on these young people to behave in a way that is foreign to the bulk of Canadian urban youth. Rather than fostering strained conditions, which only increase the probability for deviance, the young unmarried Eskimos might be better introduced into the milieux of urban youth. This could be done, perhaps, through youth and/or church organizations which would, if the young Eskimos were accepted, exert more rational and realistic constraints on their behaviour, and thereby increase their chances for success in other social areas.

Chapter 6

COMMENTS AND CONCLUSIONS

At this juncture I would like to proceed with an examination of the questions submitted to me by the Education Division via the Northern Co-Ordination and Research Centre and contained in a letter dated March 31, 1965.

As given, the first two questions* can be combined and be interpreted to cover three separate questions relating to the probable future of the Canadian Eskimo. These areas are: what is to happen to the residents of the north in terms of a) the possibility that the Eskimos might be able to retain their 'traditional' way of life; b) industrial development and employment possibilities in the north; and c) if neither of the above two possibilities are either feasible or realized, will relocation in southern industrial communities present a third possible alternative? These are the questions forming the basis of the discussion which follows.

Any logical assessment of probable alternatives must be made in terms of possible economic settings; three settings can be hypothesized:

1. Trapping, hunting, and combined trapping-hunting can continue to provide adequate subsistence allowing a minimally acceptable standard of living *without recourse to costly government subsidization* in the form of either direct monetary outlay or indirectly in the form of extensive administrative structures. As an adjunct to this I include the existence of occasional and/or seasonal wage-labour, e.g. stevedoring at 'ship-time' and the existence of a very few 'blue-collar' and clerical salaried positions, e.g. R.C.M.P. 'special constable', school janitor/mechanic, store clerk, carver and artist, and so forth.
2. The second hypothesis is one in which it is postulated that exploitable resources are found *in situ* at strategically located places in the north (the discovery of exploitable resources at *every* settlement is thought to be too improbable for consideration). In this setting we consider two sub-possibilities: a) year-round production and employment for the available labour force, or b) seasonal exploitation and employment that provides sufficient income to carry individuals through the off-season period.
   As in the case of the first setting the ideal achievment is economic independence of the labour force and a minimal expenditure of government funds in the form of welfare (and like payments), or industrial subsidies. In the case of all-year production or extraction of resources, there will, of course, be a concomitant all-year employed labour force that will have to be recruited from adjacent settlements. In other words, there will probably be some reorganization of the northern demographic picture to the extent that some settlements might well be abandoned completely. This will be less likely for a seasonal situation in which the employable persons from adjacent settlements might remove themselves only temporarily from their 'homes'. In both situations it is speculated that there will be an employable indigenous labour force.
3. The third setting that must be considered, assisted southward migration and resettlement in southern industrial communities, presents the most complex problems and sub-possibilities. As I have indicated in the previous sections, both training and education are necessary but not sufficient conditions for successful relocation of individuals and families into other-cultural situations. This being the case, then any attempts to implement or bring about the third possibility must be based upon a tightly organized and well-run program whose aim is solely to prepare individuals for the eventual assumption of full-time

*These questions or "major problems" were posed in the March letter as follows:

(1) Should the Eskimo be relocated to areas of industry and integrated into new communites, particularly in southern Canada, or should he retain his traditional life in communities in the north?

(2) If we assume that he should be relocated, how can this best be done to provide the least interference and disruption to him, his relatives, wife and family?

employment and life in the south. The immediate financial costs of such a program to the Federal Government will be high, and the re-orientation toward this step, perhaps traumatic but certainly difficult, particularly since the emotional content of arguments against such programming will be persuasive. Two major conditions would have to be met in this latter setting. First, as pointed out above and elsewhere in the report, there will have to be a population willing to migrate, with the essential skills for southern employment and armed with a solid background of information about the new conditions. Secondly, there will have to be some guarantees for employment by southern industries; that is, there will have to be a market in which the 'northerners' can sell their skills. This last problem is, fortunately, still minor thanks to the achieved work-record of some Eskimos to date.

I must, in attempting to remain objective, point out that there are still other possible settings. The extreme types would be:

4. where the Canadian government chooses to ignore the northern citizens and to leave them under the direct influence of the fur-traders (assuming that they remain in the north), the religious missionaries, and the local politicians and like self-oriented entrepreneurs.

5. the Canadian government could choose to accept total responsibility for these people and the cost of complete and comprehensive subsidization.

Whether, or which, of these possibilities is 'bad' or 'good', I am not prepared to posit, although I think the implications for either extreme are obvious.

To anticipate a number of objections and conclusions, let me simply state that in my view, setting number 1., the persistence of a trapping-hunting economy, is least possible; that setting number 2., the discovery of strategically located resources, is highly improbable, and that setting number 3., complete with its myriad problems, seems to be the only logical alternative to existing affairs unless settings numbers 4. and 5. are considered as acceptable possibilities; a moral or ethical question that, as I have said, I am not prepared to debate.

Looking first at number 1. setting, (i.e. the persistence of a trapping-hunting economy), I would like to dismiss as historically blind those persons who refer to the trapping economy as the 'traditional' way of Eskimo life. Trapping as an economic pursuit did not exist for many Eskimos until after 1920, a short period of 40 years. The evidence for this statement is available in the works of such people as Rasmussen, Jenness, Mathiassen, the records of the Hudson's Bay Company, and the Roman Catholic Missions in the Arctic. In any event, there are two factors external to any northern settlement dependent upon trapping and hunting, that are of the greatest importance in determining economic success or lack of success.

The price of furs is determined by the international market and is in no way controllable by local efforts on the part of the trappers or the fur buyers. As the situation exists it is seldom, if ever, feasible for a trapper to withold his catch from the local market in order to wait for higher prices. Where exceptions occur they do so in the context of 'co-operative' endeavours and as such have impact only upon a small segment of the entire trapping population that exists in the Canadian Arctic, and no impact whatsoever upon the fur market itself. Given such lack of control, trappers can only assume that: a) the current (any time) price for furs will be the same as it was during the last part of the last season, and b) that the only certainty is that the price will fluctuate, either upward or downward. How then can people be expected to conduct their business affairs according to the business ethic imbued in industrial society, and attempt to make accurate speculations concerning the future of their economy?

The second external factor has to do with the quantity of furs available at any given time. The records of biologists and the Hudson's Bay Company, indicate that there is a definite cycle of numbers in fur-bearing animals of importance to the Eskimos. Although there is a cycle, not, to date, subject to human engineering, it is still doubtful that accurate prediction is possible although close approximations are claimed. Once again, an uncertainty factor is impinging upon economic action. If we couple the two factors mentioned, price and quantity, then we can only conclude that trapping as a subsistence activity is

uncertain. High prices might come when numbers are low, and vice versa. Therefore, whatever the combination, the outlook is such that the efforts of the trappers are minimized and ensure that trappers' income will be consistently below the average for Canadian workers. Put another way, neither a period of high prices nor a period of high numbers can be assumed to provide automatic self-sufficiency in terms of adequate income.

More generally, a review of events and trends in the fur market over the past twenty years provides a gloomy picture at best. The numbers cycle is seen as an approximation only, and predictability of take impossible. Prices have oscillated to a point where no one in the local community would dare predict anything other than that a change would occur. The uncertainties that I have in mind are exemplified by recent events in the sealskin industry. Briefly, when the Maritime seal- fishery approached extinction because of the absence of demand and the increasing cost of operation, the focus shifted to the Arctic. Prices rocketed from one or two dollars per hide to twenty-five and more. The return of the large-scale commercial operation in the Maritimes dampened the Arctic situation, but did not completely reverse the market there. The final blow seems to have come about as a consequence of the adverse publicity that all seal-killing operations have been subjected to in the past year. Now seal-skins are worth only a dollar or two instead of the twenty or more that the Eskimos had become accustomed to over the past eight years.

If we add to this the inescapable improvements in the production of synthetic furs and the fickleness of the international fur market, there is absolutely no reason to assume that trapping-hunting, trapping, or, in the final analysis, hunting, is now or will ever again be a viable and acceptable subsistence activity. Subsidization for the maintenence of the 'traditional' way of Eskimo life can only be justified by appeals to emotions and emotional involvement with ideas about the 'good' life, the right of individuals to resist change (industrialization), and ultimately, with the right of an individual to make 'free' choices affecting his or her future. A final point that I wish to make clear is that the rate and extent of modernization, change, or industrialization, is assuming all other things to be equal, limited by the degree of dissatisfaction (with existing conditions) affecting the human population involved.

The second setting outlined, (i.e., the discovery of strategically located resources), brings into focus some problems of a different order. It follows that a requisite condition for the success of exploiting resources found in the north, is the availability of a work population that commands the skills necessary for exploration/discovery and assessment/extraction. What I am trying to do here is to clarify the distinction between resources and their exploitation and population settlement. Given the level of technology available in Canadian industrial society, then it can be recognized that, under certain conditions, certain kinds of resources can be exploited in the absence of permanent and large populations. The exploration and discovery of resources can be (is) carried out by a numerically small and highly skilled transient population. Benefits at the local level are generally minor, seasonal and temporary. The next stage in this progression is seen as one in which the production process is set in motion. The skill requirements for this range from unskilled labour through technical to administrative. Any industry located in the north will have to face the prospect of inducing the needed labour from the southern market (thereby increasing costs) unless labour be supplied from the local population.

For example, if the Mary River operation goes into year-round production, and even though the management would like to hire Eskimos, it is doubtful that they could rely on the local labour force to fill the available positions. Even by drawing men from Pond Inlet, Arctic Bay, Iglulik, and Clyde River, it is doubtful that enough men with the required skills and desire for employment could be recruited. Therefore, assuming the needed skills and desire for employment are available somewhere among the Eskimos, a northern relocation scheme would be inevitable. On the other hand, if production is on a seasonal basis and Eskimos have the desire and the skills needed, a seasonal migratory cycle would suffice. This would mean that, among other things, men would be leaving wives and children behind during the work season. Whether this is 'bad' or 'good' is a moot point but it certainly is a 'fact of life' for some labour segments of any industrial society; for example, steel workers, oil-field workers, and fishermen, to name a few, have been doing this for a very long time.

The problems to be faced in the third setting (i.e., southward migration and resettlement of Eskimos), differ primarily from those of the second setting in scope, but with the added dimension of cross-cultural settlement. With a population of Eskimos, educated, trained, desiring to migrate, and with the availability of employment in the south, we have met only the necessary but not sufficient requirements for adjustment in strange communities. In a northern resettlement program the problems of adjustment to life in a new community would be ameliorated to the extent that social, or non-work, activities could still be carried out in terms of Eskimo language and ethos. The work situation, an acceptance of the usual sets of rules and regulations included, would present the men with problems little different from those found in Peace River, Yellowknife or Lynn Lake. I am not saying here that the men will, or have, found no problems in the work situation, but I am saying that where sets of rules exist, it seems, from observation, adjustment is relatively easier and greater. Since much of the material relevant to a description of this third setting is contained in the answers to the remainder of the questions contained in the letter being referred to here, I will summarize this by saying that the most probable situation will be one in which both intra-Arctic and southward resettlement programs will be required.

The remaining questions embody some crucial areas for consideration and might be most usefully asked (and answered) in the context of motivation and differential restrictions on the realization of goals. It should be clear that those Eskimos who have, or can acquire, reliable sufficient information, are most likely to make rational decisions about their future action. By information I mean schooling and training, as well as general knowledge about such things as employment possibilities and conditions in a number of settings. Differential restrictions then, relate to lack of this kind of information, the possession of inaccurate information and the response to the demands of other individuals, e.g. to kinsmen, to local influential non-kinsmen, and the existence of conflicting goals. It is highly likely that many Eskimos, particularly the younger married people, can be motivated to take up wage-earning jobs away from their home settlements, but unless adequate preparation is possible there can be no guarantee of success. If married, both spouses require pre-leaving briefing especially about where they are going, how far this is from the home settlement, (Eskimos, as one Rankin Inlet man said, are used to travelling, but not that far), and what means of maintaining communication with the home settlement are available.

I concluded, on the basis of my summer's work, that the influence of kin was strong for the majority of the Eskimos interviewed. The exceptions were those Eskimos who had a relatively longer history of separation from their kin-group (or had a numerically small kin-group), although even here if the wife still remained closely tied to her kin-group there was a decrease in the ease with which the family was adjusting to the new situations. I can only suggest that the problem of kin-ties is a peculiarly individual problem, and that perhaps if the kin left behind had better information as to the location of their people, and if the migrants made better attempts to keep in touch and to carry out their obligations from a distance, a not impossible act, then the restrictions placed upon them might be lessened.

I am not certain as to what is implied by the question on transportation, e.g. costs of moving, 'staging' of migration. If the individuals under consideration are passing through grade-school, through trade-school, or a university program, then their move will of necessity be gradual. If it is trained families that have had the kind of pre-move briefing outlined above, then the actual move can be as brief as possible. Indeed, I see no merit in having any kind of transit centre whose function would be solely to provide a break in the move. On the other hand, if such centres were geared to continue and/or complete the pre-briefing suggested above, then this might be considered. It should also be borne in mind that centres of this nature can easily become final stopping places or in other ways disfunctional to relocation.

Two conditions must be met if the migrant is to 'establish a new home'. First, there must be adequate housing available in a price or rental range that will not be impossible for the new family to finance. In all three areas visited this summer, the lack of housing meeting these conditions was a critical factor in the dissatisfaction of the Eskimos. Second, the migrant should or will, need some commonsense help in arranging either rental or purchase of accommodation. At the moment employers are attempting to help in this, and, with the exception of Yellowknife, are doing it quite well.

To sum up this preliminary report on the migration of Eskimos to more southern regions of Canada, and their resettlement there, the following observations and suggestions can be made:

1. Although there are drawbacks to the seasonal employment scheme, there are long-term benefits:
   a) Dissemination of badly needed information among the northern populations
   b) Money earned works against the 'welfare mentality' and benefits the northern economy.
2. The biggest problem is the lack of adequate housing. The report has suggested:
   a) That the GSLR Project might lease land for the installation of temporary trailer accommodation for married couples
   b) That the Lynn Lake Project might ameliorate the lot of single men by placing them in a boarding house (purchased by either the government or by the Company) and run by an Eskimo couple
   c) That there should be housing available at a reasonable cost before moving Eskimo families South
   d) That the migrants need help in arranging the financing of their housing.
3. To get over the language barrier, there is a need for a booklet published in English-Eskimo and Eskimo-English concerning safety procedures etc., in the work situation.
4. Young unmarried Eskimos being trained in the cities might best be introduced into the milieux of urban youth through youth and/or church organizations, rather than forced to observe impossibly restrictive rules.
5. Methods of keeping up kin ties should be found and practised.
6. If married, both spouses need pre-leaving briefing about all aspects of the move.
7. It would be best not to provide a break in the move, i.e. a transit centre, unless such a centre completed the above mentioned pre-leaving briefing.
8. It seems clear that newly arrived migrants should be met by some competent person who could provide the kind of assistance described as well as being able to pass along information about such fundamental things as the location and use of public health facilities; (at Yellowknife there was a one year old baby twice as large as his three year old brother and who had not, since birth, been looked at by either nurse or doctor. I was convinced that the child required medical care and suggested this to the mother); medical schemes that are taken care of by agreement with the employer; tax obligations; local school facilities; loans and mortgage systems; credit systems.
9. Although this list is obviously incomplete, I will close it with the very important subject of proper dieting and food purchase and preparation. To reiterate a statement made earlier, the necessity for adequate dieting and rest while engaged in heavy and steady work cannot be over-stressed; a man coming off shift needs more than a cold can of salmon for nourishment, and liquor is no substitute for food.
10. With regard to 'proper' behaviour, in either the work or non-work situation, it is extremely important that anyone instructing the Eskimos should do so in *realistic* rather than *idealistic* terms. If this is not done, then the Eskimos are justified in holding, as they do, a common notion that "white men are inveterant liars and have two heads, one for themselves and one for the Eskimos! "

Perhaps what is called for here is not possible under the present set of conditions and within the current thought processes of officials. For example, if an Eskimo is employed full-time, is financially self-sufficient and paying into a medical health scheme, why should he be required to take treatment in an 'Indian hospital' operated for a class of persons to which he no longer factually belongs? In other words, when does the Eskimo (or Indian) lose his status as a ward of the government?

This question should not be regarded as either insolent or ignorant. The question of differential status of members in society is a valid area of interest for a social scientist. An associated question obviously concerns the possibility of individual movement and assumption of status within a differentiated system. In the case of the Eskimos, I am fully aware that there are problems for which no simple solution exists, and I am not suggesting, even implicitly, that the migrating individuals should be thrown completely on their own once they arrive in the south, indeed, quite the opposite. What I have in mind by posing the question, is that perhaps migration, adjustment, and assimilation of these people into southern communities would be facilitated by the existence of a scheme that would permit them to phase from their special status as wards to the simpler status of Canadian worker, student, housewife, or whatever else might be the case.